

Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3412

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 0628

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: VISIT OF MOTON MALIANGA TO MONROVIA

REF: MONROVIA 0014

1. AT THE SUGGESTION OF FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS, MOTON MALIANGA, VICE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE AFRICAN NATIONALIST COUNCIL, CALLED ON ME ON JANUARY 24. MALIANGA TOLD ME THAT HE WAS EN ROUTE FROM SALISBURY TO LONDON, AND THAT WHILE IN LONDON HE WOULD DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT TO CONTINUE ON TO STOCKHOLM. HIS ORIGINAL PLAN HAD BEEN TO MEET WITH BISHOP MUZOREWA IN LONDON AND TO PROCEED TOGETHER TO STOCKHOLM, BUT BECAUSE OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS HE THOUGHT THIS MIGHT BE CHANGED. MALIANGA SAID THAT THE PURPOSE OF HIS STOPOVER IN MONROVIA WAS TO PRESENT ARGUMENTS TO THE GOL OPPOSING THE DECISION OF THE FIVE FRONTLINE STATES TO SUPPORT NKOMO AND MUGABE. (A GOL INFORMATION AGENCY DESPATCH REPORTED THAT MALIANGA DELIVERED A MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT TOLBERT FROM MUZOREWA
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ON THE 24TH.)

2. ACCORDING TO MALIANGA, THE DECISION OF THE FIVE FRONTLINE STATES TO SUPPORT NKOMO AND MUGABE WAS "NOT SOLID." BOTSWANA DID NOT AGREE WITH THE DECISION BUT DID NOT OPENLY OPPOSE BECAUSE IT WANTED TO PRESERVE THE UNIFIED APPROACH OF THE FIVE STATES. NYERERE WAS NOT HAPPY ABOUT THE DECISION EITHER. THE TWO CHIEF

PROPOSERS OF THE DECISION TO SUPPORT NKOMO AND MUGABE WERE PRESIDENTS MACHEL AND KAUNDA, EACH FOR QUITE DIFFERENT REASONS. KAUNDA'S GOAL IS TO ENSURE INSTALLATION OF NKOMO AS THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF ZIMBABWE. MACHEL BELIEVES THAT BY SUPPORTING NKOMO AND MUGABE HE WILL FURTHER HIS ULTIMATE GOAL OF THE ESTABLISHMENT IN ZIMBABWE OF A MILITARY GOVERNMENT MUCH LIKE HIS OWN. MALIANGA SAID THAT UGANDA ALSO WAS OPPOSED TO NKOMO AND MUGABE, AND THAT THE GOV. FELT THAT THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN LEADERS.

3. THE GENEVA CONFERENCE BROKE UP, ACCORDING TO MALIANGA, OVER DIFFERENCES ON HOW THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE SELECTED; SPECIFICALLY, OVER THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT THERE SHOULD BE ELECTIONS. MUZOREWA, HE SAID, BECAUSE OF HIS STRONG POPULARITY WITHIN ZIMBABWE, WANTED TO HAVE ELECTIONS FOR AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT TO BE FOLLOWED BY GENERAL ELECTIONS. OTHER NATIONALIST ELEMENTS DID NOT WANT ELECTIONS, PREFERRING TO FIGHT TO OVERTHROW SMITH AND THEN TO TAKE OVER MILITARILY. SITHOLE DID NOT WANT INTERIM ELECTIONS BUT ONLY GENERAL ELECTIONS. THE OTHERS WANTED NO ELECTIONS AT ALL, ACCORDING TO MALIANGA.

4. MALIANGA SAID THAT THE ANC WAS IN NO WAY BLOCKING A REASONABLE SETTLEMENT. THE ANC WANTS A SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD SMOOTH THE WAY TO MAJORITY RULE; THAT IS, ONE WHICH WOULD NOT DENY THE RIGHT OF AFRICANS TO RULE DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD, ALBEIT UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE UK. MALIANGA EMPHASIZED THAT DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD EFFECTIVE POWER MUST RESIDE WITH THOSE WHO WILL EXERCISE POWER LATER. MALIANGA CLAIMED THAT IT WAS JUST THOSE GROUPS WHICH DON'T WANT ELECTIONS WHICH BENEFIT MOST FROM THE SUPPORT GIVEN TO CONFIDENTIAL

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THE PATRIOTIC FRONT BY THE FIVE FRONTLINE STATES. THE PF, HE SAID, WANTS TO STALL UPON RETURNING TO GENEVA, IN ORDER TO GIVE IT TIME TO IMPROVE ITS ORGANIZATION WITHIN ZIMBABWE. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, HE SAID, NOW HAS ACQUIRED A FLEET OF CARS TO BE USED IN ORGANIZATIONAL

WORK. THIS KIND OF ACTIVITY WILL ONLY MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO REACH A SETTLEMENT, MALIANGA SAID.

5. MALIANGA STATED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD BE MORE ACTIVE IN USING ITS INFLUENCE TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT. HE ASKED WHETHER THERE WERE ANY MEANS BY WHICH THE U.S., EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, COULD PROVIDE FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS. (COMMENT: HE CLEARLY MEANT THE ANC.) HE SAID THAT THE ANC WAS AT A DISADVANTAGE BECAUSE NKOMO AND MUGABE "GET PLENTY OF SUPPORT FROM THE USSR AND MONEY IS NO PROBLEM TO THEM." I TOLD MALIANGA THAT THE U.S. POSITION IS CLEAR: STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE BUT A POSTURE OF NEUTRALITY AMONG THE VARIOUS NATIONALIST GROUPINGS. MALIANGA SAID THAT THE U.S. SHOULD PUT PRESSURES ON THE FRONTLINE STATES NOT TO ATTEMPT TO CHOOSE LEADERS FOR ZIMBABWE. IF

THE U.S. WOULD PUT ITS INFLUENCE BEHIND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MAJORITY RULE THROUGH ELECTIONS, THEN, HE SAID, SUPPORT THE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD FALL AWAY.

6. MALIANGA SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS

MIGHT ACT AGAINST THE ANC, THE RANK AND FILE OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS WERE SYMPATHETIC TO THE ANC. HE SAID THAT THE ANC WELCOMES THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN THEIR OPERATIONS, AND HELPS TO SUPPORT THEM. THROUGH THESE CONTACTS BETWEEN THE ANC AND THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, MALIANGA SAID

THAT THE ANC BECOMES AWARE OF THE LARGE MEASURE OF SUPPORT WHICH IT HAS AMONG THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS.

7. COMMENT: THE GOL HAS NOT MADE ANY PUBLIC COMMENT ON THE DECISION OF THE FIVE FRONTLINE STATES TO SUPPORT NKOMO AND MUGABE, BUT HAS CONSISTENTLY STRESSED THE NEED FOR UNITY AMONG ZIMBABWE
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NATIONALISTS. THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE SIGNED BY PRESIDENTS TOLBERT AND KAUNDA JANUARY 20, DURING THE STATE VISIT OF THE ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT TO LIBERIA, STATED ONLY THAT KAUNDA HAD "BRIEFED" TOLBERT ON THE DECISION OF THE FRONTLINE STATES TO SUPPORT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. IN WHAT WAS PROBABLY A GESTURE TOWARD CRITICS OF THE FRONTLINE DECISION, KAUNDA IN HIS ADDRESS BEFORE THE LIBERIAN LEGISLATURE JANUARY 20, STATED THAT SELECTION OF THE FUTURE LEADERS OF ZIMBABWE WAS THE PREROGATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE AND THAT RECOGNITION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WAS NOT MEANT TO PREJUDICE THE FINAL CHOICE MADE BY THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE (REFTEL).
CARTER

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